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LIST OF DISCUSSIONS OF THE  
FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO

NEGRO SUFFRAGE

COMPILED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF  
APPLETON PRENTISS CLARK GRIFFIN  
CHIEF BIBLIOGRAPHER

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## PREFATORY NOTE

This List is composed mainly of titles of *recent* discussions of negro suffrage. There are, however, introduced a number of works which treat of the larger question of reconstruction, and some of the writings at the time of the enactment of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments conferring suffrage upon the freedmen.

The advocates and opponents of negro suffrage are both represented in the List. An attempt has been made to include representative opinions on either side.

The subject is discussed in the reports of the general debate on the Apportionment bill of 1901, printed in the Congressional Record, 56th Congress, 2d session, vol. 34, pt. 1, pp. 557-570, 590-619, 647-669, 707-749; and in the speeches in the Appendix of the same volume (printed with pt. 4) as follows: Adolph Meyer, pp. 47-52; Edward D. Crumpacker, pp. 67-75; Andrew F. Fox, pp. 75-79; Albert D. Shaw, pp. 82-88; Charles H. Grosvenor, pp. 88-90.

There were further general discussions March 31, 1902, reported in the Congressional Record, vol. 35, pt. 4, pp. 3483-3491; and on Feb. 24, 1905, Mr. Crumpacker made a speech on the subject which is printed in the Congressional Record, vol. 39, pt. 4, pp. 3324-3331.

A speech by J. W. Keifer, March 15, 1906, is printed in the Congressional Record, 59th Congress, 1st session, March 19, 1906, pp. 4033-4042.

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## LIST OF DISCUSSIONS ON THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH AMENDMENTS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NEGRO SUFFRAGE

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**Abbott**, Lyman. A national problem. Editorial.

(*In Outlook*, vol. 73, Apr. 25, 1903, pp. 950-952.)

On the race problem.

"The South patiently submitted to the experiment imposed upon it, against its will, of universal suffrage, until the conditions which that suffrage involved became intolerable to white and black alike."

**Adams**, Charles Francis. Reflex light from Africa.

(*In The Century magazine*, vol. 72, May, 1906, pp. 101-111.)

"The Negro, after emancipation, should have been dealt with, not as a political equal, . . . he should have been treated as a ward and dependent—firmly, but in a spirit of kindness and absolute justice."

The **Alabama** case (suffrage decision). Editorial.

(*In Outlook*, vol. 74, May 9, 1903, pp. 95-96.)

**Alexander**, Hooper. The negro and the fourteenth amendment.

Letter dated Atlanta, Georgia, February 20, 1904.

(*In Harper's weekly*, vol. 48, Mar. 19, 1904, page 438.)

Discusses the influence of the amendment upon negro crime.

**Ambler**, Charles H. Disfranchisement in West Virginia. I-II.

(*In Yale review*, vol. 14, May, 1905, pp. 38-59; Aug. 1905, pp. 155-180.)

**Beecher**, Henry Ward. Mr. Beecher on reconstruction.

(*In The Outlook*, vol. 74, May 30, 1903, pp. 280-281.)

Letter to the Louisville Courier-Journal, March 30, 1885.

Suffrage, Mr. Beecher says, was given to the negroes, not from a belief of their fitness for suffrage but from a conviction that it was necessary for their defense, and the result has shown that they have not misused their power.

Subject of an editorial in the same number of *The Outlook*, under the caption "A page of history", in which the attitude of President Lincoln on negro suffrage is also given.

**Blaine**, James G. Political discussions, legislative, diplomatic, and popular, 1856-1886.

*Norwich, Conn.: The Henry Bill publishing company, 1887.*  
*vi, (2), 525 pp. 8°.*

The Fourteenth amendment as a basis of reconstruction, pp. 61-71.  
Ought the negro to be disfranchised? Ought he to have been  
enfranchised? pp. 278-299.

Consists of a campaign speech by Mr. Blaine, Aug. 29, 1866, and an  
article originally printed in The North American review, defend-  
ing negro suffrage.

**Boyle**, James E. Has the fifteenth amendment been justified?

(*In Arena*, vol. 31, May 1904, pp. 481-488.)

Pronounces "this experiment in political science as an unqualified  
failure."

**Brannon**, Henry. A treatise on the rights and privileges guaranteed  
by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the  
United States.

*Cincinnati: W. H. Anderson & co., 1901. ix, 562 pp. 8°.*

Discusses the first and fifth sections of the Fourteenth amendment  
under the captions "Citizenship", etc. As arranged it constitutes  
a compendium of references to court decisions.

**Braxton**, A. Caperton. The fifteenth amendment—an account of its  
enactment.

(*In Virginia state bar association. Report of the fifteenth annual  
meeting*, pp. 243-308. Richmond, 1903. 8°.)

**Brown**, William Garrott. The lower South in American history.

*New York: The Macmillan company, 1902. xi, (1), 271  
pp. 12°.*

"Shifting the white man's burden", pp. 245-271.

**Burgess**, John W. Present problems of constitutional law.

(*In Political science quarterly*, vol. 19, Dec. 1904, pp. 545-578.)

"Two great problems have confronted the American practice dur-  
ing the last fifty years, neither of which has been satisfactorily  
solved, and neither of which, I fear, will be so solved without fur-  
ther constitutional amendment.

"The first problem concerns the meaning of the thirteenth and  
fourteenth amendments, which, with the fifteenth, make up the  
constitutional product of the Civil War."

— Reconstruction and the Constitution, 1866-1876.

*New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1902. 12°. (American  
history series.)*

"Ratification of the fourteenth amendment," pp. 202 *et seq.*

**Caffey**, Francis G. Suffrage limitations at the South.(In *Political science quarterly*, vol. 20, Mar. 1905, pp. 53-67.)

A discussion of the suffrage provisions in the constitutions of several of the Southern states in which comparison is made with limitations of suffrage in the North, with argument against reduction of representation in the South.

**Chamberlain**, D. H. The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.(In *Nation*, vol. 77, Aug. 20, 1903, page 151.)

A communication calling attention to the question as to the power of Congress to enforce the second section of the fourteenth amendment.

The **Colour** question in the United States.(In *Edinburgh review*, vol. 201, Jan. 1905, pp. 55-76.)

Discussion based on Census Bulletin no. 8, 1904, "Negroes in the United States;" "The negro problem," New York, 1903; "Southern thoughts for northern thinkers," by Mrs. Murphy, New York, 1904; "The South and the negro," by Bishop Charles B. Galloway, New York, 1904; "The work and influence of Hampton," The Armstrong Association, 1904.

The conclusion is that "The bestowal of an educational franchise on all negroes in the States, and the drawing of no distinction between North and South, would ensure justice to the Southern black whilst causing the least irritation to the Southern white. The regulation of the elective franchise (so far as negroes are concerned) should no longer remain a State, but should become a Federal matter."

**Colquhoun**, Archibald R. The future of the negro.(In *North American review*, vol. 176, May, 1903, pp. 657-674.)

Advocates education of the negro but is unfavorable to his having rights of citizenship.

**Colquitt**, Alfred H. Is the negro vote suppressed?(In *Forum*, vol. 4, Nov., 1887, pp. 268-278.)

Reply to article by J. B. Foraker in *The Forum* for August, 1887. The writer, using the state of Georgia as an example, seeks to show that the negro has not been denied suffrage.

**Crumpacker**, E. D. Speech on the reduction of representation in the South, in the House, Feb. 24, 1905.(In *Congressional record*, vol. 39, 58th Congress, 3d session, pp. 3324-3331.)The **Disfranchisement** of the negro: a brief for the defense.(In *American lawyer*, vol. 1, June 1903, page 252.)

Extract from the "Memphis commercial."

**Dos Passos**, John R. The negro question.

(In *Yale law journal*, vol. 12, June 1903, pp. 467-483.)

Summarizes the provisions of the laws now regulating suffrage, discusses the effect of negro suffrage North and South, and suggests as a solution of the evils a "return to old and perfectly natural conditions by again unqualifiedly placing this question of suffrage with the respective states" which "requires the repeal of the second section of the 14th and all of the 15th amendment".

**Drake**, B. Frank. The negro before the Supreme Court.

(In *Albany law journal*, vol. 66, Aug. 1904, pp. 238-248.)

Includes synopses of decisions in negro suffrage cases before the Supreme Court.

**Dunning**, William Archibald. Essays on the civil war and reconstruction and related topics.

*New York: The Macmillan company, 1898. ix, (1), 376 pp. 12°.*

"The Constitution of the United States in reconstruction." pp. 63-135.

The "Failure" of negro suffrage.

(In *Chautauquan*, vol. 37, June 1903, pp. 230-231.)

The **Fifteenth** amendment and the negro.

(In *Chautauquan*, vol. 37, June 1903, pp. 231-232.)

**Fleming**, Walter Lynwood. Civil war and reconstruction in Alabama.

*New York: The Columbia university press, The Macmillan company, 1905. xxiii, 815 pp. Illustrations. Plates. Portraits. Maps. Facsimiles. 8°.*

**Flower**, Frank Abial. Can Congress change congressional apportionment?

(In *National magazine* (Boston), vol. 13, Jan. 1901, pp. 282-286.)

Discusses reduction of representation of states which disfranchise the negro. Proposes other remedies.

**Foster**, Roger. Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States historical and judicial. Vol. 1.

*Boston: The Boston book company, 1895. 8°.*

The Fifteenth amendment, pp. 325-335.

**Garner**, James Wilford. The fourteenth amendment and southern representation.

(In *South Atlantic quarterly*, vol. 4, July, 1905, pp. 209-216.)

Inquiry into "purpose and meaning of the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment." Enlarges upon the difficulties to be encountered in carrying out the mandate of the provision.

**Garner**, James Wilford. Reconstruction in Mississippi.  
*New York and London: The Macmillan company, 1901.*  
*xiii, (1), 422 pp. 12<sup>o</sup>.*

**George**, James Z. Defense of the constitution of Mississippi. Speech in the Senate of the United States, Wednesday, December 31, 1890.  
*(In Congressional record, 51st Congress, 2d session, vol. 22, Appendix, pp. 46-96.)*

**Grimké**, Archibald H. Why disfranchisement is bad.  
*[Philadelphia, Pa.: E. A. Wright, 1905.] (12) pp. 8<sup>o</sup>.*  
 Cover-title.

——— *Same.*  
*(In Atlantic monthly, vol. 94, July 1904, pp. 72-81.)*

**Griscom**, Isaac W. Constitutional government and the alternative.  
 [Letter]  
*(In Nation, vol. 77, July 9, 1903, page 28.)*  
 On the decision of the Supreme Court in regard to suffrage case.

——— Republicanism and the so-called race problem. [Letter]  
*(In Nation, vol. 77, July 23, 1903, pp. 71-73.)*  
 Drawn out in response to what the writer terms "the favor with which various propositions, to repeal, suspend or circumvent the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments have been received in all parts of the country."

——— The sophistry of oppression. [Letter]  
*(In Nation, vol. 77, July 30, 1903, page 92.)*  
 Reply to an editorial in Harper's weekly which the writer thinks "augments the clamor for the disfranchisement of the negroes."

**Grosvenor**, Charles H. Disfranchisement of the negro and the Constitution: the fourteenth amendment a living vital issue in this campaign.  
*(In Era magazine, vol. 14, Oct. 1904, pp. 305-310.)*

——— The negro problem in the South.  
*(In Forum, vol. 29, Aug. 1900, pp. 720-725.)*  
 "For more than thirty years now, about one-third of a century, the colored man has been a voter. During that time the Southern States have flourished beyond all comparison. The property, the prosperity, the happiness, the good government, the education, and the civilization of the Southern States have increased in a ratio most gratifying; and all this has been accomplished with the political rights of the colored man unassailed."

**Gunton, George.** Is negro suffrage a failure?

(*In Institute of social economics, Lecture bulletin*, vol. 6, Feb. 16, 1903, pp. 203-222.)

"The South is justified in asking the whole nation, and the civilized world for that matter, frankly to recognize that negro suffrage has been a failure and is a menace to the southern states, and the nation has the same right to ask the southern states with equal frankness to face and cheerfully accept reduced representation in Congress."

**Guthrie, William D.** Lectures on the fourteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States, delivered before the Dwight alumni association, New York, April-May, 1898.

*Boston: Little, Brown and company, 1898. xxviii, 265 pp. 8°.*

Lectures, intended as an outline of the scope of the fourteenth amendment. Treats of history of the amendment, principles of construction and interpretation, due process of law, equal protection of the laws, and rules of practice.

**Hallowell, Richard P.** Why the negro was enfranchised. Negro suffrage justified. Published at the request of colored citizens of Boston. 2d ed.

*Boston: George H. Ellis co., printers, 1903. 35 pp. 8°.*

Defends the wisdom of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendment legislation: gives a brief survey of reconstruction in South Carolina, which he thinks shows that the negro is entitled to suffrage.

**Hampton, Wade.** What negro supremacy means.

(*In Forum*, vol. 5, June, 1888, pp. 383-395.)

An exposition of conditions in South Carolina from 1869 to 1876 to show evils of negro political domination.

**Hart, Albert Bushnell.** The realities of negro suffrage.

(*In American political science association. Proceedings at its second annual meeting*, pp. 149-165. Lancaster, Pa., 1906. 8°.)

An historical review.

Criticizes the suffrage system in the South on two grounds: "First, that the system is really, although not openly, a discrimination between men on the ground, not of their character or their acquisitions, but of their color; secondly, that it means the permanent disfranchisement of the greater part of the negro race, and their consequent relegation to a position in which one of the most effective springs of thrift and ambition is removed."

**Herbert, Hilary A. and others.** Why the solid South? or, Reconstruction and its results.

*Baltimore: R. H. Woodward & co., 1890. xvii, 452 pp. 16°.*

**Hood, J. W.** The enfranchisement of the negro no blunder.  
(*In Independent*, vol. 55, Aug. 27, 1903, pp. 2021-2024.)

**Is** negro suffrage a failure? Editorial.

(*In Independent*, vol. 55, Feb. 12, 1903, pp. 400-401.)

Denies that the experiment of negro suffrage has failed for good.

**Johnston, Frank.** Suffrage and reconstruction in Mississippi.

(*In Mississippi historical society. Publications*, vol. 6, pp. 141-244. Oxford, Mississippi, 1902. 8°.)

**Keifer, Joseph Warren.** Power of Congress to reduce representation in Congress and in the electoral college: a reply.

(*In North American review*, vol. 182, Feb. 1906, pp. 228-238.)

Discusses the origin and meaning of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments in reply to an article in the *North American review* for October, 1905. Affirms that Congress has power to reduce representation.

**Knox, John B.** Reduction of representation in the South.

(*In Outlook*, vol. 79, Jan. 21, 1905, pp. 169-171.)

Argues that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments have not been contravened by any state in the South; that in Alabama the intent was "to place the power of government in the hands of the intelligent and virtuous", and cites the case of a court decision in Alabama wherein the rights of a colored voter was recognized.

**Love, John L.** The disfranchisement of the negro.

*Washington, D. C.: Published by the Academy, 1899. (2), 27 pp. 8°. (The America negro academy. Occasional papers, no. 6.)*

**McKinley, Albert E.** Two new southern constitutions.

(*In Political science quarterly*, vol. 18, Sept., 1903, pp. 480-511.)  
Alabama and Virginia.

**Maxey, Edwin.** The enforcement of the fourteenth amendment.

(*In Albany law journal*, vol. 66, Sept., 1904, pp. 274-276.)

Favors enforcement. Advocates reduction of representation in Congress "of those states which sanction disfranchisement."

**Merriam, William B.** Suffrage. North and South.

(*In Forum*, vol. 32, Dec., 1901, pp. 460-465.)

Discusses the question of limitation of suffrage in the light of the census returns of 1900.

**Morgan, John T.** Negro suffrage in the South. Mr. Pritchard's resolution. Speech in the Senate of the United States, January 8, 1900.

*Washington, 1900. 16 pp. 8°.*

Cover-title.

**Morgan**, John T. Shall negro majorities rule?

(In *Forum*, vol. 6, Feb., 1889, pp. 586-599.)

A negative reply to the question propounded.

**Morse**, E. L. C. The debasement of the suffrage.

(In *Nation*, vol. 76, June 25, 1903, page 515.)

On general conditions.

**Murphy**, Edgar Gardner. Problems of the present South; a discussion of certain of the educational, industrial and political issues in the southern states.

*New York; London: The Macmillan company, 1904. xi, 355 pp. 12°.*

Negro suffrage, pp. 190-201.

— Shall the fourteenth amendment be enforced?

(In *North American review*, vol. 180, Jan., 1905, pp. 109-133.)

“In opposition to the enforcement of the popular conception of the fourteenth amendment.”

**Negro** disfranchisement in Maryland.

(In *Literary digest*, vol. 31, Aug. 19, 1905, pp. 235-236.)

Comments of several newspapers on the proposed amendment to the Constitution directed against negro suffrage.

**Negro** suffrage in the South. Extracts from newspaper editorials.

(In *Gunton's magazine*, vol. 24, June, 1903, pp. 544-546.)

**Negro** suffrage in the South. Editorial.

(In *Outlook*, vol. 74, June 13, 1903, pp. 399-403.)

Gives concise statements of the suffrage qualifications in Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Louisiana, North Carolina, Virginia, with the conclusion that “no negro showing evidences of competence, by his possession of a very limited amount of property, and by ability to read and write the English language, is permanently excluded from the suffrage in any of the Southern states.”

**Odgen**, R. The Alabama decision on negro suffrage.

(In *Nation*, vol. 76, April 30, 1903, page 346.)

— The caste notion of suffrage.

(In *Nation*, vol. 77, Sept. 8, 1903, page 182.)

— Judge Parker on the fourteenth amendment.

(In *Nation*, vol. 77, July 16, 1903, page 44.)

Criticizes Judge Parker's address before the Bar association of Georgia in failing to discuss squarely the fourteenth amendment. The editorial favors reduction of representation where the negro is denied the right to vote.

**Ogden, R.** Negro disfranchisement in Maryland.

(*In Nation*, vol. 78, Jan. 7, 1904, pp. 6-7.)

Examines the condition in Maryland showing that the usual argument for disfranchisement (fear of negro domination) has no foundation as in other southern states. Predicts that with the negro disfranchisement Maryland will become permanently democratic.

——— Republican consistency.

(*In Nation*, vol. 76, Feb. 26, 1903, page 164.)

Criticism of attitude of Republican party towards the negro and the Tagal.

——— The outcome of the new Mississippi constitution.

(*In Harper's weekly*, vol. 47, Aug. 15, 1903, page 1323.)

Discussion based on work by Frank Johnston on the franchise clause of the Constitution of 1890.

**O'Neal, E.** Power of Congress to reduce representation.

(*In North American review*, vol. 181, Oct., 1905, pp. 530-543.)

Denies the power of Congress to reduce representation.

**Page, Thomas Nelson.** The disfranchisement of the negro: one factor in the South's standing problem.

(*In Scribner's magazine*, vol. 36, July, 1904, pp. 15-24.)

"Personally the writer does not, under existing conditions, believe in repealing the amendment. He would, indeed, rather have it repealed than have a perpetual continuance of the evils that have resulted from unrestricted suffrage."

——— The negro: the Southerner's problem.

*New York: Charles Scribner's sons, 1904. xii, (2). 316 pp. 12<sup>5</sup>.*

The partial disfranchisement of the negro, pp. 120-162.

**Pike, James S.** The prostrate state: South Carolina under negro government.

*New York: D. Appleton & co., 1874. 279 pp. 12<sup>5</sup>.*

**Pillsbury, Albert E.** The disfranchisement of the negro. A speech at Faneuil Hall.

*Boston: Geo. H. Ellis co., printers, 1903. 13 pp. 8<sup>5</sup>.*

Denounces the disfranchising constitutions of the South. Insists "that in every state of the Union black men and white men shall be admitted or excluded, no matter which, on absolutely equal terms."

**Recent** discussion of the fifteenth amendment.

(*In Harper's weekly*, vol. 47, July 11, 1903, page 1144.)

Discusses repeal of fifteenth amendment in connection with Goldwin Smith's writing on the subject.

**Recent** views of the fifteenth amendment.

(*In Harper's weekly*, vol. 47, May 23, 1903, pp. 873-874.)

Discussion of Justice Brewer's opinion, views of Goldwin Smith, A. R. Colquhoun and Dr. C. H. Parkhurst.

**Reduction** of southern representation in Congress.

(*In Outlook*, vol. 79, Jan. 7, 1905, pp. 11-15.)

Editorial discussion in which the proposed reduction of representation is opposed.

**Restricted** suffrage on trial (North Carolina). Editorial comment.

(*In Outlook*, vol. 75, April 11, 1903, page 847.)

**Restriction** of suffrage in Maryland.

(*In Outlook*, vol. 67, Feb. 9, 1901, pp. 329-332; March 16, 1901, pp. 648-650.)

Editorial and correspondence.

**Root**, Elihu. Root on negro question. "Suffrage a failure." Secretary of war at Union League anniversary dinner.

(*In New York tribune*, Feb. 7, 1903, pp. 1, 5.)

## — Elihu Root on the negro problem.

(*In Harper's weekly*, vol. 47, Feb. 21, 1903, pp. 306-307.)

Synopsis of speech before the Union League Club with comment. Admits the failure of the fifteenth amendment.

**Scruggs**, William L. Citizenship and suffrage.

(*In North American review*, vol. 177, Dec., 1903, pp. 837-846.)

Discusses the suffrage clauses in Southern constitutions and their relation to the fifteenth amendment.

**Shall** the fifteenth amendment be repealed? Editorial.

(*In Independent*, vol. 55, May 28, 1903, pp. 1277-1278.)

Opposed to repeal.

**Shall** we have a sixteenth amendment?

(*In Gunton's magazine*, vol. 27, Nov., 1904, pp. 453-462.)

Discusses with general approval the proposition advanced by C. W. Thomas in the North American review for a sixteenth amendment to the Constitution.

"This would of course enable any state to exclude from the franchise any class by a simple legislative enactment; but it would, at the same time, proportionately reduce representation of that state in Congress and diminish its influence in the federal government."

**Sinclair**, William A. The aftermath of slavery; a study of the condition and environment of the American negro, with an introduction by Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

*Boston: Small, Maynard & company, 1905. xiii, 358 pp. 12°.*

“The war on negro suffrage,” pp. 104-152.

“With the ballot the negro is a man; an American among Americans. Without the ballot he is a serf, less than a slave; a thing.”

**Smith**, Wilford H. Is the negro disfranchised?

(*In Outlook*, vol. 79, April 29, 1905, pp. 1047-1049.)

**Suffrage** and representation.

(*In Gunton's magazine*, vol. 25, August, 1903, pp. 95-101.)

Discusses the suffrage amendments to the Constitution. Doubts the feasibility or advisability of repeal of fifteenth amendment.

**Suffrage** limitations in the South. Editorial.

(*In Outlook*, vol. 76, March 12, 1904, pp. 632-634.)

Thinks that the provision of the Constitution of the southern states do not in fact disfranchise any but the “ignorant and the thrifless negro.”

The **Supreme Court** and negro suffrage.

(*In World's work*, vol. 6, June, 1903, pp. 3491-3493.)

Brief editorial on the Alabama case. Thinks the disfranchisement of the negro is a settled fact, and nothing but military force can put the negro in possession of the ballot.

**Thayer**, James Bradley. Cases on constitutional law.

*Cambridge: Charles W. Sever and company, 1895. 2 vols. 8°.*

Fourteenth amendment, pp. 374, 379, 459, 469, 521, 534, 536, 548, 556, 564, 571, 572, 587, 611, 616, 625, 629, 636, 641, 646, 647, 675, 680n., 682, 689, 691, 745, 770, 774, 780, 789, 800, 872, 877, 942, 1169, 1406, 1408.

Fifteenth amendment, pp. 524, 553, 567, 571.

**Thomas**, Charles W. A sixteenth amendment.

(*In North American review*, vol. 179, September, 1904, pp. 402-409.)

The proposed amendment repeals sections 2 and 3 of the fourteenth and all of the fifteenth amendment and provides that representation shall be based upon the number of citizens who are permitted by law in the states respectively to vote for President and Vice-President and for representatives in Congress.

**Thorpe**, Francis Newton. The constitutional history of the United States. In three volumes. Volume 3: 1861-1895.

*Chicago: Callaghan & company, 1901. 8°.*

The suffrage amendment . . . its ratification as the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution, pp. 440-462.

**Tourgée**, Albion W. Shall white minorities rule?

(*In Forum*, vol. 7, April, 1889, pp. 143-155.)

A protest against suppression of the negro vote in the South.

The **Union** league club on disfranchisement.

(*In Independent*, vol. 55, December 17, 1903, pp. 3008-3010.)

Editorial comment on the resolutions by the Union league club in favor of reducing the representation in Congress of those states which limit suffrage.

**United States.** *41st Congress, 2d session. Senate report no. 187.*

Report by Mr. Edmunds from the Committee on the judiciary, to whom was referred the petition of citizens of Rhode Island setting forth, by reference, the 14th and 15th articles of amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and stating that "the State of Rhode Island, notwithstanding the provisions of the above-named amendments, persists in and by the first section of article 2 of the constitution of said State, in denying and abridging the right of about ten thousand citizens of the United States to vote at any and all elections holden in said State," and praying that Congress will "pass such appropriate legislation as may be found necessary to obtain for, and secure to, the citizens of the United States resident in Rhode Island all the rights, privileges, and immunities guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States." May 26, 1870. 2 pp. 8°.

— *56th Congress, 2d session. House report no. 2130. Apportionment among the several States. Report from the Committee on the Twelfth Census. December 20, 1900. 146 pp. 8°.*

Views of Mr. Crumpacker, reviewing legislation in Southern States affecting negro suffrage, in which he gives the text of suffrage clauses in the constitutions of Louisiana, North Carolina, Mississippi, and South Carolina, and the theory of the Fourteenth amendment.

— *Bureau of rolls and library.* Documentary history of the Constitution of the United States of America 1786-1870. Derived from records, manuscripts, and rolls deposited in the Bureau of rolls and library of the Department of state. *Washington: Department of state, 1894-1900 [1901]. 3 vols. F°.*

Fourteenth amendment: Resolution of Congress proposing Fourteenth amendment, pp. 638-640; Ratifications, pp. 641-782; Declaration of the Secretary of State conditionally announcing the

adoption of the Fourteenth amendment, pp. 783-787; Declaration of the Secretary of State positively announcing the adoption of the Fourteenth amendment, pp. 788-794.

Fifteenth amendment: Resolution of Congress proposing Fifteenth amendment, pp. 795-796; Ratifications, pp. 797-896; Declaration by the Secretary of State of the adoption of the Fifteenth amendment, pp. 893-895.

**United States.** *Supreme court.* *Giles v. Harris.* Submitted Feb. 24, 1903, decided April 27, 1903. Appeal from the Circuit Court of the United States for the middle district of Alabama to review a decree which dismissed, for want of jurisdiction, a bill in equity to compel the board of registrars of Montgomery county to enroll a negro upon the voting lists. Affirmed opinion by Mr. Justice Holmes.

(*In United States reports, vol. 189, pp. 475-504. New York, 1903. 8°.*)

— — — — *Same.*

(*In United States. Supreme court. Cases argued and decided in the Supreme Court of the United States, October term, 1902, vol. 189, pp. 475-504. Rochester, New York, 1903. 8°.*)

— — — — *Giles v. Teasley.* Argued Jan. 5, 1904. Decided Feb. 23, 1904. In error to the Supreme court of the state of Alabama to review a judgment which affirmed a judgment of the City court of Montgomery in that state, sustaining a demurrer to the petition in an action to recover damages for the refusal of the board of registrars of Montgomery county to register a negro as an elector. *Same*, for a writ of mandamus to compel the board . . . to register a negro as an elector. Writs of error in both cases dismissed. Opinion of Mr. Justice Day.

(*In United States reports, vol. 193, pp. 146-167. New York, 1904. 8°.*)

— — — — *Same.*

(*In United States. Supreme court. Cases argued and decided in the Supreme court of the United States, October term, 1903, vol. 193, pp. 146-167. Rochester, N. Y., 1904. 8°.*)

— — — — *Jones v. Montagne.* Argued April 4, 5, 1904. Decided April 25, 1904. Opinion delivered by Mr. Justice Brewer.

(*In United States reports, vol. 194, pp. 147-153. New York, 1904. 8°.*)

— — — — — *Same.*

(*In* United States. Supreme court. Cases argued and decided in the Supreme court of the United States, October term, 1903, vol. 194, pp. 147-153. Rochester, N. Y., 1904. 8°.)

This action was brought to restrain the issuance of certificates of election to persons elected under the new constitution of Virginia "which it was alleged was designed to accomplish the disfranchisement of the colored voters of that state."

**Weeks**, Stephen B. The history of negro suffrage in the South.

(*In* Political science quarterly, vol. 9, Dec., 1894, pp. 671-703.)

Subject considered under the following captions: 1. Before the Revolution; 2. From the Revolution to the Civil war; 3. The evolution of negro suffrage; 4. Negro rule and its results; 5. The present status of negro suffrage.

**Wickliffe**, John C. Negro suffrage a failure: shall we abolish it?

(*In* Forum, vol. 14, Feb., 1893, pp. 797-804.)

Advocates repeal of the fifteenth amendment. "The Northern idea of negro political equality must be abandoned. The Southern advantages of additional representation must be abandoned."

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